

Glasgow Weekly Times.

CLARK H. GREEN,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

DEVOTED TO POLITICAL, AGRICULTURAL AND GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM,
INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.

VOL. 16.

GLASGOW, MO., THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 9, 1855.

NO. 24.

THOS. SHACKLEFORD,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
GLASGOW, MO.
WILL practice in the Courts of Howard, Saline, Cooper, Randolph and Charlton counties. Office on First street, between Market and Commerce.

JOHN C. CRAWLEY,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
KEOSAUQUA, MO.
WILL practice in the Courts of Howard, Saline, Cooper, Randolph and Charlton counties. Office on First street, between Market and Commerce.

LUTHER T. COLLIER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
CHILLICOTHE, MO.
WILL attend all business entrusted to his care in the counties of Livingston, Grundy, Davies, Carroll, Linn, Charlton and Randolph. November, 1854.

CARLOS BOARDMAN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
LINNEUS, MO.
WILL continue the practice of the Law in Linn and the adjoining counties. All business entrusted to his care will receive prompt attention. (ap 1855)

THOS. B. REED, A. P. DENNY,
REED & DENNY,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
TUNTSVILLE, MISSOURI.
HAVE formed a Law partnership, and will practice their profession in the counties of Randolph, Monroe, Boone, Howard, Charlton and Marion. [Jan. 1, 1855.]

T. W. B. CREWS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
MARSHALL, MO.
WILL practice in the Courts of Saline, Howard, Cooper, Pettis, Johnson and Lafayette. Nov. 30-55-ly.

JACOB SMITH, GED. S. PALMER,
SMITH & PALMER,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW AND LAND AGENTS,
LINNEUS, LINN COUNTY, MO.
WILL attend to any business confided to them in the counties of Charlton, Linn, Livingston, Grundy, Mercer, Sullivan and Putnam. May 21, 1855-ly.

MEDICAL CARD.
DR. J. J. WATTS has resumed the practice of his profession, and will give attention to all calls. Residence, Randolph county, where Dr. W. B. Watts formerly resided. j29

GEO. PHIPPS,
House, Sign and Ornamental
PAINTER,
And Paper Hanger,
GLASGOW, MO.
BEING permanently located, respectfully solicits a portion of public patronage, and will give prompt attention to all orders. Glasgow, March 8-55

House and Sign Painting.
THE undersigned returns thanks for the liberal patronage he has received for the past four years in Glasgow and vicinity, and hopes by renewed exertion on his part to still receive a share of work in his line. A. FOSTER. March 10, 1855.

W. B. TALLY,
UNDERTAKER,
WATER STREET, GLASGOW, MISSOURI.
RESPECTFULLY informs his old friends and the public, that he has taken a shop on Water Street, between Market and Commerce, where he is prepared to furnish
WOOD OR METALIC COFFINS
AT ALL HOURS.
Also—Furniture of all kinds made to order, repaired, &c. (June 21, 1855-3m*)

W. D. MATTHEWS, UNDERTAKER.
Corner Market and Second streets,
Glasgow, Mo.
COFFINS furnished to order at all hours; also Fick's patent Metallic Coffins kept constantly on hand at St. Louis prices. June 25-1y

DENTISTRY.
DR. S. HINSON,
HAVING located permanently in Glasgow, offers his professional services to the residents of this place and vicinity, and assures them that nothing shall be found wanting to merit a continuance of that patronage they have already bestowed upon him.
Office up stairs, on First street, a few doors north of Market, where he can be found during business hours. Glasgow, June 28, 1855.

Gunsmithing!
JOHN WACHTER,
DEGS to announce to the citizens of Glasgow and vicinity that he is prepared to execute all orders in the
GUNSMITHING LINE,
and hopes to receive a share of public patronage, pledging strict attention to business, good work, and moderate charges.
Shop next to the Post Office. [my10]

Lands for Sale or Lease.
I have for sale or lease, on accommodation terms, both improved and unimproved farms in Howard, Charlton, Saline, Linn and Carroll counties. For particulars apply at my residence near Glasgow. no24 T. ALTON TURNER.

BAKERY & CONFECTIONARY.
P. Shafer,
RETURNS thanks for the liberal patronage he heretofore extended to him, and asks a continuance, at the
ROCK-HOUSE,
formerly kept by Philip Shafer, where he is now prepared to fill all orders in his line. History of Cakes and Confectionary will at all times be full and fresh. Cakes for Family Use or Parties. Porter, Wines and Brandies, warranted pure, and neatly bottled, always on hand. P. SHAFER. August 31, 1854-1y

A CARD.
THE undersigned will continue the Cigar business as usual, at the Old Stand formerly occupied by Norman & Co., and having engaged the services of Experienced Manufacturers, will continue to furnish as good a Cigar, at as low rates, and on as liberal terms as any house in the State, and hopes to receive a share of public patronage. WM. J. GAMBLE. Glasgow, April 5, 1855.

INVALIDS.—Those in want of a genuine article of Port Wine will find it at
no10 DAMERON, MASON & CO.

S. H. BAILEY,
WHOLESALE CONFECTIONER,
No. 64 Second Street,
ST. LOUIS, MO.
WOULD respectfully call your attention to his large and complete assortment of
LARGE AND SMALL STICK CANDY,
Sugar Plums, Almond Confections, Rock Candy, KISSES AND LOZENGES.
Also, to his assortment of Fancy Kite Papers, Fancy Boxes, Confectionaries, &c., for Confectionery.

His articles are manufactured expressly for the country trade, and their superior quality is well attested by the large and increasing sales, and the already well established reputation which they have acquired, believed to surpass that of any other establishment in St. Louis.
Orders solicited and promptly supplied.
October 12, 1854.

SADDLE & TRUNK MANUFACTORY.
WM. P. ROOPER,
MANUFACTURER OF
SADDLES, HARNESS, TRUNKS,
And every description of Saddlery.
WATER STREET, GLASGOW, MO.
HAVING bought the interest of
A. W. Rooper, in the late firm of Rooper & Bro., continues the business at the old stand, where he would be pleased to have a call from the patrons of the old concern, and feels satisfied that he can make it to their interest to trade with him. His stock of work is very large and complete, and he will sell saddles from one to two dollars cheaper than they have ever been sold in this place. Call and see. Jan. 12 W. P. ROOPER.

NEW SADDLERY SHOP.
Bibb & Eberle,
RESPECTFULLY announce to the citizens of GLASGOW and vicinity, that they have permanently located in this place, for the purpose of carrying on
Saddlery and Harness Business.
They will keep constantly on hand a full assortment of
Saddles, Bridles, Martingales, Single and Double Harness, Blind Bridles,
and every description of Saddlery, which will be offered on the most reasonable terms. They feel confident from their experience in the business to be able to give entire satisfaction to all who may favor them with their patronage.
Shop on First street between Market and Commerce. Glasgow, December 14, 1854.

A FINE FARM FOR SALE.
The subscriber having resolved to move to St. Louis, offers for sale his desirable Farm in CHARLTON COUNTY, Mo., containing
520 Acres of Land,
mostly timber, but adjoining a large Prairie. The farm is situated 18 miles from Keytesville, the county seat, 34 miles from the Grand Chariton, and 8 miles south of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Rail Road.
For a further description of the place applicants are requested to see Maj. John H. Turner, Glasgow, W. E. Moberly, Esq., Brunswick, Louis Saltsbury, Esq., Keytesville; and for terms apply to the owner at his residence.
CHARLES B. FALLENSTEIN.
On Beech branch, Charlton county, Mo. April 12, 1855.

VALUABLE PROPERTY FOR SALE.
DESIRING to change my location, I offer for sale my property in Glasgow, consisting of four lots, together with a residence and shop. The dwelling is roomy and comfortable, and for a residence and business, the property is ideally situated, and will be sold cheap. Apply on the premises. j29 JAMES DAVIS.

VALUABLE TOWN PROPERTY FOR SALE.
THE undersigned offers for sale the property on which she at present resides, consisting of four lots on the corner of First and Second streets, together with the improvements—two dwellings and out houses, one new and both in good repair. There is an excellent well on the ground. For further particulars apply to the premises. ELIZABETH CARTER. Glasgow, May 10, 1855.

AMERICAN EXCHANGE.
Water street, Glasgow.
THE subscribers would respectfully announce to their friends and the public, that they have fitted up the new house of Mr. Forbes, on Water street, third door above Market, and have opened
THE AMERICAN EXCHANGE!
Their bar will be supplied with the best
Liquors, Wines, Cigars, Ale, &c., &c.,
That can be purchased. Attached is an
Eating Saloon,
Where at all times he had Oysters, Sardines, Lobsters, Game, Ham, Eggs, &c.
A call is solicited from the lovers of pure Liquors and Good Eating. G. C. DUFF & CO. Glasgow, March 8, 1855.

PLASTERING.
THE undersigned having located permanently in Glasgow, takes this method of informing those having Plastering to be done either in the town or country, that he is fully prepared to attend to the same at any time. He warrants his work to give satisfaction, and
PRICES MODERATE.
Cisterns cemented, whitewashing and all kinds of work pertaining to the business done at the shortest notice.
Having had sixteen years experience in the business, in St. Louis, I better myself I can do the above business in a superior manner.
REFERENCE.—W. F. DUNNICK, Jno. C. Woods. EDW. C. HUMPHREYS. March 1, 1855-y

H. E. DIMICK & CO.,
No. 42, Main Street, St. Louis, Mo.
GUNS, RIFLES, PISTOLS, CAPS,
AND all kinds of Sporting Apparatus.—
Gun-makers materials constantly on hand. aug1-y

DAQUERREAN GALLERY.
W. F. PITTS
BEGS to announce to the ladies and gentlemen of FAYETTE and vicinity, that he is prepared to execute beautiful and life-like likenesses
In all Styles of the Art.
with promptness and on reasonable terms. A call and examination of his specimens is solicited. Rooms up stairs in the Court House, and open from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M.
Instructions given in the art, to any desiring to learn the business, on reasonable terms. Fayette, April 28-1y

GLASGOW HOUSE,
WATER STREET, GLASGOW, MO.
The subscriber respectfully announces to his friends and the traveling public that he has taken the above house, and having refitted and refurnished it, is prepared to accommodate all who may favor him with a call.
Stage office for all the lines terminating at Glasgow. jan5 G. CREWS.

RANDOLPH HOUSE,
Main street, Huntsville, Missouri.
L. HEETHER, PROPRIETOR.
The public are informed that I have opened a commodious house for the accommodation of travelers and boarders, which shall be kept in a style inferior to none, and superior to most in the country. [nov17]

SMITH'S HOTEL,
GLASGOW, MO.
The undersigned has opened a large and commodious Hotel between Second and Third and Market and Howard streets, in this city. His house is new, and fitted up in the very best style, and has ample facilities for a first class hotel. He has spared no pains in making his rooms elegant and comfortable. His table will at all times be furnished in a manner to gratify the utmost reasonable wishes of his guests. The situation of his house is one of the most pleasant and healthy in this city.
There is a good livery stable close at hand, where stock will be well attended to. The public are respectfully invited to give him a call. W. M. N. SMITH. ap9

Shirley House,
FAYETTE, MO.
THE undersigned has opened a public house in Fayette, Mo., on the south-east corner of the Public Square, where boarders and travelers shall receive every necessary attention.
In connection with this house, a new stable and a carriage house have been built, which will be attended by the most careful and experienced hostlers, and conveyances will be furnished to any of the neighboring places. Jan. 19 JAMES A. SHIRLEY.

Harry House,
BRUNSWICK, MO.
THE subscriber has removed to his new and commodious Hotel, near Broadway, where he will be pleased to see his old friends and traveling public generally. No pains will be spared to render his guests comfortable, and their stay at his house a pleasant one. The Hotel has been furnished with every convenience, and he flatters himself that no house west of St. Louis can excel his. The table will at all times be furnished with the best market afford—the bar will be furnished with the most choice liquors. Thankful for the liberal patronage heretofore extended to him, he solicits a continuance of the same. Brunswick, Mo., June 21, 1855. N. HARRY.

TO BUILDERS.
THE subscriber having permanently located in Glasgow, respectfully announces that he is prepared to take contracts for buildings, entire, or do any work in the Mason line. Pillars, Sills and Caps, made to order. A share of business respectfully solicited. Work warranted—Rates Reasonable. MORRIS FITZGERALD. Glasgow, March 8.

CHARLES H. WINSLOW,
MANUFACTURER OF
Monuments, Tomb & Grave Stones
OF ALL SIZES, BRUNSWICK, MO.
I am prepared to fill orders of every description at the shortest notice. All orders from a distance promptly attended to.
Persons purchasing from my agents may rely on being furnished with the best material and executed in the finest style. (feb3)

C. D. SULLIVAN & CO.,
Jewellers, Watch & Clock Makers,
No. 39, FOURTH STREET,
St. Louis, Mo.
A large and well selected assortment of
clocks, watches, jewelry, silver spoons, &c., constantly on hand for sale low.
All kinds of jewelry made to order and neatly repaired. Engraving executed, and all orders promptly attended to.
The highest prices paid for old Gold and Silver. ap3

GLASGOW LIVERY STABLE.
The subscriber begs to tender his thanks to the community for the liberal patronage heretofore extended to him, and would announce that he has recently made important additions to his
STOCK AND VEHICLES.
And is prepared to accommodate the traveling public and pleasure parties with
CARRIAGES, BUGGIES AND SADDLE HORSES,
at the shortest notice and on reasonable terms.
A Good Horse and Carriages,
always ready to attend. Funerals in the place or vicinity.
Families can rely on comfortable carriages and careful drivers.
Charges moderate for moderate driving, but the stock is over-driven or over-ride, the privilege is reserved of making an extra charge. "Fast drivers" and "fast riders" must pay "fast prices." Horses kept by the day or week on reasonable terms. Good accommodations for transient stock. Accounts kept with permanent citizens, but cash payment required of transient persons. A. A. PUGH. Glasgow, March 15, 1855.

Glasgow Wharf Boat.
BOAT AND FAMILY STORES.
THE subscribers have constructed a boat for the purpose of keeping a full supply of
BOAT AND FAMILY STORES,
and will pay the highest market price, in Cash, for Beef, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Butter, Eggs, Chickens, Turkeys, &c. Vegetables and Fruits, and every article of table consumption, which will be sold to Boats or Families at a small advance on cost.
Persons in the country can at all times rely on finding a market for their articles, and cash payments.
They are also well provided with pure river ice, and will supply Boats at reasonable prices. JOHN SEIBEL & CO. March 1, 1855.

SUGAR.—40 hds just received and for sale by
je28 DAMERON, MASON & CO.

Champaigne.
Baskets of a Superior article for sale by
je28 DAMERON, MASON & CO.

The Glasgow Times.

A Letter to Charles Sumner.

A Senator in Congress from the State of Massachusetts—Occasioned by his Anti-Slavery Discourse, in Niblo's Theatre.

BY REV. D. J. BRECKENRIDGE.

Sir: I have read with great attention a discourse of yours published in the New York Tribune of the 18th of May, which, according to the statements of that paper, was pronounced at Niblo's Theatre, in the city of New York, a few days before, to an immense and delighted assembly of the people. I will add that it is my habit to read carefully whatever I find in the newspapers of the day proceeding from you. For I observe in what falls from you, a more serious conviction, a deeper tincture of scholarship, a larger intelligence, and a more earnest manliness than I have been able to discover in the utterances of those who seem to enjoy your confidence and share your labors. It is no disparagement to you, personally, to add, that representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, sitting in the seat of Daniel Webster, discoursing the duty of the Northern States on the most dangerous topic of our day, and pleading eloquently for the necessity, practicability and dignity of an enterprise whose success involves the ruin of the country—your words have for all considerate men, an interest and an importance which all your high qualities would fail to impart to them, if you spoke as a private citizen. It may be possible, also, that the words of a private person like myself, and a total stranger to you, by connecting themselves with the stirring and dangerous words spoken by you from that great position, you have won, may obtain an audience, which but for that, it would be idle to expect for them. And you will yourself, perhaps, admit, that I have somewhat to say, worthy of serious consideration, and that my life long connection, in many forms, with most of the topics you discuss, entitles me, without undue presumption, to give utterance to some of the thoughts excited by your discourse.

Allow me, sir, to utter in one sentence the substance of my whole thought touching the madness of the times about this whole question of negro slavery. Here we are—a great people, with a glorious mission set before us. More than twenty millions of us, with whose destiny the destiny of three or four millions of blacks is fearfully combined. One way or other, we must solve their destiny when we solve our own.—This is wholly unavoidable. But the madness is, that every seven white Americans must needs cut each other's throats concerning the fate of one black African! Is there no solution of the problem of their destiny and ours, but that solution which destroys us without benefitting them? And can statesmen such as I do not see sufficient reason to doubt you are—and patriots such as I have not the heart to deny you to be—find no better solution of this terrible problem—no nobler issues of our sublime hopes—than mutual destruction by the men of the North and the men of the South—for the sake of the African slaves, scattered thinly over the continent? Are we not able to bear through, by our invincible strength, even such a parasite as this black race, carrying them forward far beyond anything they could have reached without us, and yet mounting up ourselves far beyond anything they may ever reach? Shame upon every American statesman and every American patriot who is insensible to the glory of such a result! Infamy to every one who conspires to defeat it!

And yet, sir, you, an American Senator, speaking in the name of the great Commonwealth, in whose bosom stands Bunker Hill—and sitting in the seat of that great statesman and patriot who saw no hope for public liberty, higher than that which rests upon the Union of these States; you, an American Senator, who have studied the past and fear God, allow yourself to bring the whole force of your character, your position, and your great gifts, to bear directly upon the point at which alone it is possible to wreck the country, and to destroy us altogether.—The very madness of the times assumes in you its most frantic aspect; and you openly avow that slavery in America, is a wrong so grievous and unquestionable that it should not be allowed to continue—nay, that it should cease to exist at once—nay, that a wrong so transcendent, so loathsome, so direful, must be encountered wherever it can be reached, and the battle must be continued without truce or compromise, until the field is entirely won. Such are your words, profoundly eloquent—unspeakably

Now, sir, this means, neither more nor less, than the edge of the sword. Lay aside the rhetoric, and the simple sense is, grape and canister, cold steel and stricken battle. Believe me, Mr. Sumner, when I state two facts, one of which I know better than you do, and the other of which you ought to know, better perhaps than I do.—The fact, which I know better than you do, is, that whenever the very faintest indication of the settled purpose of the men of the North to follow your advice, becomes apparent to the men of the fifteen slave States of this Union—a million of armed men, will be ready to receive you and your followers; and if you come not speedily thereafter to execute your threats—your coming will not be waited for but they will seek you on the soil where you now vainly suppose no danger will ever come. The fact which you ought to know better than I do, is, that after two or three hundred thousand men are arrayed in battle, on each side, it makes no sort of difference as to the probable result, whether one or the other party has the greater reserve of physical force, left out of

battle; because, after two or three hundred thousand fighting men, in the present state of the art of war—everything depends merely on brains.

The sum of these two facts is very clear, namely: if the North wants to settle the slavery question by the edge of the sword the North is in a very fair way to be gratified; and when she gets what she wants, there is at least an exceeding great probability that the North will see reason to change her mind very materially, as to the wisdom of settling that question.

Moreover, let it not escape your attention that many circumstances aggravate the conduct of the men of the North, and exasperate the hearts of the men of the South, in this wholesale business of all them tending to strengthen us and to weaken you at every stage of the bloody struggle to which you are driving the country. For, in the first place, let slavery be all that you assert it to be—the time is long past when it was either honest, wise, patriotic for you to take that ground, even in an argument having merely ordinary political bearings, much less in one looking to bloodshed and conquest.—All that was settled between us before the old confederation was formed; it was settled again in the common danger and common glory of great Revolution; it was settled again in the Federal Constitution. I say nothing about the unspendable folly of arguing as a statesman, that a Slave State and a Free State cannot tolerate each other in one confederacy, supposing the question to be now for the first time considered. What I say is, that it is no longer possible for the men of the North to open that question, without revolution, and without dishonour to every national act and movement of our past history; and what I mean is, that they cannot do this without so weakening and disarming themselves, and so strengthening and ennobling us, that God, posterity, fortune, and the hearts of the combatants must feel the effects of the opposite conduct and position of the parties. To which we add, in the second place, that this conduct of the men of the North, besides being a base policy after-thought, is a deliberate breach of faith, sanctioned by the blood of our fathers; an ignoble retraction of plighted honor and truth; and justice; a calculated sacrifice of those of their own race, and lineage, and house and blood, for those of a strange kindred and clime—without any new circumstance or additional reason, for so atrocious a perfidy against plighted truth.

Add again, in the third place, the treachery of the state of heart in which the North presses this bloody arbitrament, under the settled belief that she risks nothing thereby and that she risks everything; and the fervor of that state of soul to which the South, roused by so much insult, injustice and danger, really does risk all, with a sublime purpose, to the last man, to win all. And then, in the fourth place, add the sort of conviction, in which the two parties thus mutually range themselves, in that deadly strife; and if you be as wise as you are eloquent—you may comprehend what as yet you seem to have wholly overlooked—namely, the settled confidence of the entire slave States; that they are fully able to make the men of the North repeat, that they ever broke confederations, and forgot ancestral ties, and outraged national obligations, in order to ruin the millions of the most elevated race on the face of the earth, upon the hazard—if not the pretext—of benefiting the third part of that number, of one of the most degraded races in the world. You will have battled—no—without truce or compromise—and that whenever you can reach us—and that until the field is entirely won. For my part, sir, I would gladly slum that battle fought, will see one more example added to the multitudes which already crowd the annals of mankind, that they who best themselves when they find their harness on, are apt enough to wait when they come to put it off.

So far then you may perceive, that according to the fixed and unanimous conviction of the fifteen Commonwealths, if you propose to conquer, your whole North, if it were united as one man, could no more do that deed than it could make a world; and that unless it were utterly lost to every glorious inspiration of the past and every sacred impulse struggling for birth in all true hearts, the North would no more think of making such an attempt upon such pretexts as you array—even if those pretexts were true and real—than it would think of perdition followed by self-murder. But sir, I beg you to consider what I shall add to show that these pretexts are neither true or real.

The very foundation of your discourse, as you distinctly state, is the grand principle, universal, as you assert, is the law of slavery, that man, created in the image of God is divested of his human character, and declared to be a mere chattel. Now, Mr. Sumner, you cannot fail to be aware that both parts of this statement are absolutely untrue, and by consequence your whole plea for our conquest is based on a double, perfidious quibble. There is not a single slave State in this whole Union whose laws divest the slave of his human character. There is not a single one whose laws declare a slave to be a mere chattel. No doubt many of the rights which I believe with you to be inherent in human nature, are wholly incompatible with any state of slavery.

No doubt if slavery existed at all, the right of property thus recognized by the local law may be made analogous to the right one has to a chattel, just as it may be to the right to a slave. But you have far too much sense and knowledge not to know that these are widely different truths from the abominable untruths upon which your whole discourse proceeds. Do you not perfectly understand that every slave State in this Union shapes its entire slave code, upon the

grand truths that a slave is not a mere chattel, and that his human character is not divested? Do you not know that by the universal law of slavery the slave is held to innumerable accountabilities, over-riding all claim of his master, and that he is protected, not as a chattel but as a man, at the peril and profit even of his master's life? And yet, upon precisely opposite allegations you construe an argument whose logical issue is the subversion of our National Union; and that argument you construe a code of morals, whose highest obligations is civil law, Sir, whatever may be my opinion of the fairness of such reasoning, I easily perceive its diabolical skill. But for your sweeping allegations, your argument had nothing on which to rest; for if the relation of master and slave be once admitted to be generally a relation of power and subjection and analogous to that of ruler and subject, guardian and ward, parent and child—then it demands far higher powers than yours to show that as a mere relation it has any moral quality at all; and then your duty of murder on account of it, comes straightway to an end. Slavery, Mr. Sumner, is not a thing which, even in its fundamental nature, much less in its more revolting aspects, I have any purpose to defend. But it is not, either in its nature or its manifestations, the thing you could hardly fail to know. How, then, can I avoid saying that the pretexts on which you counsel such insane proceedings are neither true nor real.

What you say on the two vital objections, as you call them, to what you style the anti-slavery enterprise, is not equal to the level of your ordinary thoughts. The distinction of race, as an obstacle to indiscriminate abolition, and the sanction of Christians to the institution of slavery, as a plea for its toleration, do unquestionably require to be put aside more thoroughly than you have succeeded in doing, before the terrible necessity of adopting your principles and following your counsels can be said to be obligatory on the conscience of the North. I will venture to suggest somewhat on both topics, which seems to have escaped your notice.

For my part, sir, I wish well to every country in the world, and to every race on the face of the earth. But I frankly admit that I love my own country out of all comparison with every other; that I cherish my own race with a fervor far beyond that with which I regard all others. Some people call this narrow mindedness; and the like. I call it an exalted duty, both of natural morality and of revealed religion, whose neglect is incompatible with a pure heart or a right spirit in man. It has pleased God to create and establish great diversities of race amongst men; diversities which, if we could obliterate them completely, would there can be no doubt, be re-established under the course of Divine Providence, whose grand designs in that, as in all things else, we neither comprehend, nor are able to defeat.—This diversity of race, extending apparently to the utmost limit compatible with its generic unity, has been one of the most conspicuous elements in the destiny of mankind—and is so still.

I beg you to consider that in all recorded time, but two methods have been found, whereby it was possible to solve the great problem of the general mixture of races in one community, on equal terms. It can be done—where all have a common master; that is, a form, which indiscriminately enslaves all. Or it can be done by means of the toleration of polygamy; that is, under a form where the civil quality is preceded and covered by one blood, and one house—except by one or other of these means, or by both of them combined, the fundamental demand of your Abolition hypothesis, after innumerable attempts upon every race of men, under every form of civilization, has encountered only universal shipwreck. Your anti-slavery enterprise, therefore, as soon as it encounters the question of mixed races dwelling together, must demand that equality which is produced by the indiscriminate servitude of all; or it must demand the toleration of polygamy; or it must succumb before the irresistible course of Providence, and the invincible laws of human nature, as both are attested by the universal experience of mankind. That is, we must renounce our freedom and our actual civilization to reach one solution of this premium, or we must renounce our Christianity to reach the other solution of it, or we must resist our anti-slavery enterprise, with its fundamental clause of equality of races, as tantamount to the utter disorganization of society. Sir, I have not one word to say about Shem, Ham, Japheth or Canaan. But whether as a statesman, as a philosopher, or as a Christian, and with a sovereign contempt for all infidel theories of man, of society, and of virtue, I calmly and sorrowfully tell you, there lies one of the grand and insuperable obstacles to that universal freedom and equality of man, for which man has pined from the origin of the race, but which can never attain; and never will, upon such theories as yours.

The pretext that the thing is attainable by civil war, or is attainable at all, except on the terms stated, or is either possible or desirable for us, is neither true nor real. On the other point your plea for the dissolution of society and the ruin of our country is still less satisfactory. As for me, Mr. Sumner, it has been the great business of my life to preach the Gospel of God, the great pleasure of my life, to do what I could to ameliorate the condition of my fellow men. And I need not hesitate to add, that while I have won neither senatorial rank nor national notoriety thereby, I have endured more and risked more for the sake of the black race, by far, than either you or I have done for the sake of the white. Your fierce sarcasm, therefore, has no terror for me; nor can your pathos mislead a heart which has felt too deeply all the real evils of this

pitiable case to be susceptible to the influence of the most eloquent exaggerations; nor have I any sympathy with that state of mind in which one can imagine that he is pleading the cause of Christ, while he is counseling the deliberate violation of the most sacred obligations.

The life and doctrine of the Lord Jesus afford the only perfect illustration of every truth and every duty; and among the rest of that glorious truth of the universal brotherhood of man, and that immortal duty of unquenchable, mutual love founded on it.—But how how utterly do we misconceive the life and doctrine of the Son of God when we advocate universal treason in order to redress partial oppression, or teach doctrines which lead only to universal rapine in order to rectify partial injustice! I wish, from the bottom of my heart, that every people were fit to enjoy; and did actually possess, public liberty and free institutions; but should I, therefore, urge an indiscriminate assault upon all nations which desire, but are denied these, inestimable blessings?—All duty is founded upon truths and laws, both of which are immutable; but every duty is modified by circumstances which vary ceaselessly; and it is only as we comprehend those of these great principles, that we can ever attain any rational assurance that we perform a single duty aright. As a member of the human race, enlightened by the Gospel, I may have a particular view of the general question of human servitude. Considered as a citizen of the United States, with the institution of slavery occupying the precise posture it does in this nation, my view of my own duty must necessarily be modified. Considered as a citizen of Kentucky where much might be done towards the amelioration of slavery, my duty is modified again.

And considered as a citizen of South Carolina, where probably, it is hardly possible to conjecture how slavery could terminate peacefully and safely, my duty necessarily undergoes another and very serious modification. The religion of Jesus Christ is compatible in every condition in which God's providence constrains our fallen race to exist; and it is as absurd in reason, and as unfounded in fact, to assert that Christ and his Apostles required the indiscriminate abolition of human servitude, as to assert that they required the indiscriminate overthrow of any other form of despotic authority among men. For myself, my natural heart would doubtless have loved the teachings of the Lord all the more, if he had preached a crusade for liberty, instead of a sacrifice for sin. But with his Gospel in our hands, we cannot more keep an honest and enlightened conscience, and deny that his teachings tolerated human servitude as a condition compatible with salvation—than we can make ourselves acquainted with the history of human affairs, and deny that his providence has tolerated human servitude as a condition compatible with the existence of a society. What are we that we cannot have a little patience with that with which God has had patience since sin entered into the world? And how striking is it to behold the certainty with which men repudiate the power of the Gospel, as soon as they have fastened on it a power of their own; how surely they become heretics, apostates or infidels, when they begin to teach Christ, instead of sitting down at his feet to learn of him! What else can we say, but that all pretexts, whether for Public wrong or private iniquity, are neither true nor real?

It was my purpose, sir, to have said something on the two vital topics of your discourse—the practicability and dignity of the anti-slavery enterprise, together with your view of the special duty of the North with regard to it. In your first topic, however, the necessity of that enterprise, the foundation of all best and having discussed, in some degree, only fundamental principles, I pass by what, when I was a younger man, I should have been more prompt to utter touching some other portions of your discourse. For the rest, I will venture to add a few words, which, if you cared to do so, it would be your right to demand of me in explanation of my own views, after having spoken so freely of yours.

Slavery, Mr. Sumner, is not a modern institution. It is as ancient as human society. And yet, it is not a permanent institution in the sense of being perpetuated in one particular race or country. We have the sad advantage of being able to contemplate it in every age of the world, in every condition of severity, and in contact with every form of civilization. We ought, by this time, to be able to comprehend it. From this point of view I have two statements to make, both of which I fear may appear to you inaccurate. The first is, that holding concerning the structure of human society more clearly established by the entire career of man on earth than that, in some way or other, the social subjugation of one part of every highly developed community to another part of it—that is, servitude in some form or other, is absolutely inevitable; just as much as the existence of crime, or of war, or of sorrow.

Let us treat this as a badge of our fallen condition; let us seek its constant amelioration, as one of our clearest duties; but let us respect truth, and justice, and honor, and good faith, in all our attempts. The second statement I have to make is, that the general condition of negro slavery in America, so far from being particularly direful and loathsome, as you represent it to be, is really, and indeed of necessity, in all respects mitigated and regulated after the prevailing spirit of our Protestant civilization, and is gradually acquiring a more endurable position; as the power of the Gospel gradually extends its influence, and as the slave States gradually settle into the conviction that their duty obliges them to accept this institution as a permanent part of their social system; I do not myself believe that servitude in this